



# MOZAMBIQUE

## REVOLUTION



SPECIAL ISSUE

25th September 1967

# PROCLAMATION

## TO THE MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE

### MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE

In September 1962 the Congress of the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIMO) affirmed unanimously the will and determination of the Mozambican people to fight by any and all means for the achievement of their National Independence.

During the past two years FRELIMO never ceased to work for the attainment of that goal.

FRELIMO tried, through peaceful means, to convince the colonial-fascist government of Portugal to give satisfaction to the fundamental political demands of the Mozambican people.

FRELIMO constantly made known to Pan-African, Afro-Asian and world organizations the situation in which the Mozambican people live, and denounced the crimes of colonialism in Mozambique.

As a result, not only the Mozambican people, but also the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and, in general, world public opinion condemned the criminal policy of the Portuguese government.

In spite of this, Portuguese colonialism continues to dominate our country. The riches of our country and the work of the Mozambican people continue to be exploited by the Portuguese colonialists and their imperialist allies. Our brothers are daily murdered for participating actively in the struggle for the liberation of our country. The prisons are full of patriots, and those who are still free live in uncertainty of what the next day will bring. The PIDE increases the number of its agents, and perfects its methods of torture. The Portuguese army is being reinforced and constantly increases its potential in men and war material; and the "Psycho-Social" continues its campaign of deceiving the Mozambican people.

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

FRELIMO always carried on its work in order to assume completely its responsibilities as the leader of the revolution of the Mozambican people.

Therefore, concurrent with its peaceful efforts, FRELIMO prepared itself to face the eventuality of an armed struggle.

Today, faced with the constant refusal of the Portuguese government to recognise our right to Independence, FRELIMO again declares that armed struggle is the only way for the Mozambican people to achieve their aspirations of Liberty, Justice and Social Well-Being.

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

Workers and peasants, workers on the plantations, in the timber mills and in the concessions, workers in the mines, on the railways, in the harbours and in the factories, intellectuals, civil servants, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, students, men, women and young people, patriots,

IN THE NAME OF ALL OF YOU

FRELIMO TODAY SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS THE GENERAL ARMED INSURRECTION OF THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF MOZAMBIQUE.

Our fight must not cease before the total liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

The Mozambican revolution, the work of the Mozambican people, is an integral part of the struggle of the people of Africa and of the whole world for the victory of the ideals of Liberty and Justice.

The armed struggle which we announce today, for the destruction of Portuguese colonialism and of imperialism, will allow us to install in our country a new and popular social order. The Mozambican people will thus be making a great historical contribution

toward the total liberation of our continent and the progress of Africa and the world.

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

In this decisive hour in the history of our country, in which we have unanimously decided to take up arms to confront Portuguese colonialism, FRELIMO is sure that each Mozambican will fulfill his duty.

We must continually reinforce our unity, the union of all Mozambicans without any distinction, from Rovuma to Maputo.

We must consolidate more and more our Organization, we must always act in an organized way.

Everywhere FRELIMO will always be present and ready to direct the struggle.

We must be firm, decided and implacable with the Portuguese colonialists.

We must be firm, decided and implacable with those who collaborate with Portuguese colonialism, with the agents of the PIDE and with all traitors to our people and our country.

UNITED WE SHALL WIN!

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!

MOZAMBIQUE WILL WIN!

LONG LIVE FRELIMO!

LONG LIVE MOZAMBIQUE!

LONG LIVE AFRICA!

25th September 1964

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE



## MESSAGE

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
TO THE MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE

For three years the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have been fighting with arms in their hands against the Portuguese colonialists. Three years of tough, difficult armed struggle. Three years during which the people of Mozambique have shown the world their qualities of courage, determination and hard work. The enemy has intensified repression in an attempt to kill our revolution. But the revolution is the whole people in their march towards freedom. Only by killing our whole people could the colonialists kill our revolution. The Portuguese tried to do this. Many people, men, women and children have been murdered by them. But these crimes do not frighten our people nor make them retreat. On the contrary they made the Mozambican people revolt more determinedly and made them fully understand that the liberation of Mozambique will only happen when all the Portuguese colonialists are killed or driven out of our land. Then, holding their guns firmly, our people have thrown themselves more decisively into the struggle against the oppressors. Today, the Mozambican people are winning the war.

FRELIMO is leading the armed struggle of national liberation. It was FRELIMO that, on the 25th of September 1964, proclaimed the beginning of the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of complete independence of Mozambique. In three years of fighting FRELIMO forces have liquidated more than 5,000 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed about 300 military vehicles and trains, shot down 22 aircraft, destroyed various military posts and camps and sabotaged a number of bridges and roads. The casualty rate in FRELIMO forces has been very low because the Guerrillas know the terrain, and they hide, attacking suddenly, by surprise and retreating into the bush again before the enemy has time to reply to their fire.

In this way we have been able to drive out the Portuguese colonialists from large areas of our country. About a fifth of our country has been liberated.

But the purpose of our struggle is not only to destroy. It is first and foremost aimed at building a new Mozambique where there will be no hunger and where all men will be free and equal. We are fighting with arms in our hands because, in order to build the Mozambique that we want, we must first destroy the Portuguese colonial system, which does not allow us to work for the progress of our country and of our people. The Portuguese colonialists want us to work only to fill their own pockets. It is for this reason that we must first kill them or drive them out of Mozambique: only after this will we be able to use for ourselves, our labour and the wealth of our country.

This is now becoming a reality: in the regions reconquered by FRELIMO a great deal of progress has been made in the work of national reconstruction. In these regions (Cabo Delgado and Niassa) we have more than 10,000 Mozambican children in school, many more than there were under the Portuguese. Furthermore, we know that the Portuguese have always prevented African students from going on to more advanced schools and colleges. But FRELIMO now has more than 150 Mozambicans studying in the universities of various countries, and more than 19 have already completed their university course. This means that in the five years since it was formed in 1962 FRELIMO has done far more in the field of education, for the people of Mozambique, than the Portuguese did in 5 centuries.

FRELIMO has created an administrative system in the liberated zones, which has replaced the colonial system.

FRELIMO has promoted the development of production and redistributed conquered land to the people and given them implements with which to cultivate it. In short FRELIMO has created the basis of the free and prosperous Mozambique of tomorrow.

At night in the liberated areas the people of the villages gather by the fire and sing and dance in complete freedom, as in the time before the arrival of the Portuguese. The old people tell the children about the crimes the Portuguese practised against the people, when they occupied that territory. They tell them about episodes in the liberation struggle, the courage of our guerrillas. When the mothers want to frighten their children to

make them quiet, they invoke the name of the Portuguese, as mothers in other countries invoke the bogey or the darkness. the Portuguese oppression in these regions appears now as a shadow which has passed.

But what we have done is still very little. It is very little compared with what still needs to be done. We have destroyed the colonial machine in certain areas - but we have to destroy it completely, everywhere. We have liberated some regions of Mozambique but we must liberate the whole territory of Mozambique. About 800,000 Mozambicans are now free, but we must free all the 7 million which constitute our people. We are giving education to some thousands of young Mozambicans - but we must create conditions under which all Mozambicans will have the opportunity to study. We have liquidated some of the companies which exploit our labour and our wealth - but we must liquidate all the companies which exploit us, all the thieves of our land.

For this to be done we must continue fighting. We must fight without flagging or allowing difficulties to overcome us. There are many difficulties. The guerrillas sometimes have to spend whole days without eating, have to sleep out in the cold and sometimes have to march days or even weeks in order to carry out an attack or an ambush. They suffer from hunger, thirst, cold and fatigue. Sometimes, even, though not often, one of our guerrillas is hit by enemy fire.

The people also suffer in this phase of the liberation struggle. for the enemy intensifies its repression to try to terrorise the population and prevent them from supporting the guerrillas. There are many difficulties. The battle for liberty is not easy. But that liberty which we want to gain is worth all these sacrifices. It is not living, to live like a slave, exploited, beaten, humiliated. Suffering is nothing when in the end we shall gain freedom. The great bulk of the people of Mozambique understand this. That is why every day they come to FRELIMO bases: young men and young women, asking to join the FRELIMO forces to fight for the liberation of Mozambique. This is why the people do not hesitate to take part in the struggle, to give food to the guerrillas, to hide them,

to inform them about enemy movements, even when they know that the colonialists might torture and kill them for doing this.

We must fight. We must go on fighting. All of us, from the North to the South, from the East and to the West of Mozambique. The whole people, without distinction of tribe or religion or colour. In the zones involved in armed struggle everyone must participate directly or indirectly. In the zones where the armed struggle has not yet begun the people must organise themselves and prepare themselves for the time when FRELIMO will start the armed struggle in that zone. FRELIMO militants are already there, working and organising the people, in secret. FRELIMO militants are everywhere, throughout the whole of Mozambique. They keep the oath they made to themselves when they joined FRELIMO:

"Mozambique is my country. My country was invaded by the Portuguese colonialists. The Portuguese colonialists enslaved my people, stole the riches of my land. I, son of Mozambique, nationalist and patriot, in the name of those things most sacred to me - my people, my country - swear to devote all my energies to the service of the Revolution. I shall never vacillate. Until the liberation of my people, my life belongs to the Revolution.

# ANALYSIS

## OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

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### Portugal's position

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The Portuguese position is unchanged. Portugal insists that Mozambique is an "Overseas Province" and that we Mozambicans are "Portuguese". She continues to refuse to recognise our right to self determination and independence. Thus the armed struggle is still the only means which can lead us to independence.

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### contradictions among the colonialists

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Within the Portuguese position, however, major contradictions have begun to appear:

a) On the one hand there is the Portuguese Government, which insists on wanting absolute control over all "its" "Overseas Territories" - not only political, but economic, administrative, and cultural as well. The system established in the colonies, is in fact, a system of direct rule, in which the organs of colonial government are tentacles, or extensions of the Central Government. The Governor Generals themselves are nominated by the Council of Ministers in Portugal.

b) On the other hand there is a section of the white population of the colonies which does not willingly accept this policy. These settlers would prefer to see their profits used in the development of their businesses in the colonies instead of being absorbed by the Portuguese Government in the form of taxes. They think of Mozambique as their country, in the sense of their personal property. They want to get rid of their ties with Portugal. The ideal of these settlers would be to see in Mozambique

a situation similar to Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence. There is, however, only a very limited possibility of bringing about this situation. For, whereas in Rhodesia the white settlers could count on support from England when they declared independence, and possessed all the material means (including military) to establish their independence, the settlers in Mozambique find themselves in a very different position. Portugal (unlike England) needs the colonies for her own survival. The very existence of Portugal in its present phase, depends on the colonies. Therefore Portugal will oppose any action from any quarter which would result in her losing the revenue provided by the colonies. Thus the Portuguese Government would actually use her vast army to oppose any movement for independence among the white settlers.

The existence of the national liberation struggle is another factor which acts against this tendency of the settlers. Even though, let us suppose, they obtained independence, they would be deprived of the military means of repression which Portugal provides. They would then, be forced to appeal, for example, to South Africa, who would send her troops in to occupy Mozambique. A bond of dependence would then be established between this regime and South Africa. The situation then pertaining would to all intents and purposes be the same - independence in relation to Portugal, but dependence in relation to South Africa. The settlers in Mozambique know this. That is why they do nothing to make anything concrete come out of this tendency: it remains a matter of vague aspirations.

c) A third body of opinion is for a neo-colonialist position, in which Portugal would grant independence to Mozambique, using a group of African puppet leaders, manipulated by the Lisbon authorities. The representatives of this movement are in Lisbon and constitute the so-called "legal opposition" to the Salazar regime. Their leader is a Portuguese politician called CUNHA LEAL. But the neo-colonialist solution presupposes that the colonial power is sufficiently developed industrially to be able to make use of the raw materials which the neo-colony would provide her with. As Portugal is one of the most backward countries in Europe she needs, in order to exploit a territory, to have at the same time political and economic control. This is why the neo-colonialist tendency is also inapplicable.

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## establishing white settlers

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Being well aware of these realities Portugal is concentrating, at the present moment on attracting to Mozambique as many white settlers as possible, not only Portuguese but foreigners as well. The newspaper "Diario de Mocambique" of November 8th 1966 published an article about the placing of foreign settlers in Mozambique, stating that "the immigration of farmers to Mozambique which a few months back was limited to people coming from South Africa, has now extended to Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi: in the space of three months the immigration office of one city alone - Beira - attended to more than 150 families coming to settle in Mozambique ..... The man who pioneered this movement was the South African Colonel J.J.Pienaar, now established with his family on a property in MUDA ..... The possibilities for making land concessions to foreign farmers can now be increased with the application of the Regulation for Settlement and Land Concessions in the Overseas Provinces approved by Statute No. 43,894 of the 6th September 1961. Those lands most sought after by foreign farmers are those which are situated nearest to lines of communication. Many of the present concessions will be annulled when the legislation is enforced in full. Many of the hopes of these foreign farmers are founded on these annullments.

As well as these settler-farmers the Portuguese Government is procuring settler-soldiers. These are, for the most part Portuguese soldiers, who, on completing their term of military service in Mozambique, are invited to stay. Or they are South African and Rhodesian soldiers contracted to collaborate in the repression, and installed under the cover of "settlers"

In this way the Portuguese Government is trying to create a white minority strong enough to oppose the nationalist movement and to strengthen the military and economic ties with South Africa and Rhodesia, by inviting settlers from these countries to participate directly in the exploitation of Mozambique. This measure, like many others that the Portuguese Government has adopted since 1964 - enforcement of the military budget in Mozambique, despatch of enormous contingents of troops, calling in foreign capital in bulk, the attempt to establish relations with those African countries which border on Mozambique,

stronger integration within NATO, an increase of verbage at the U.N., authorisation (more than this: a request) to other imperialist countries, its allies, to establish military bases in Portugal, increase of repression in Mozambique, increase in anti-nationalist propaganda, concessions of certain privileges to Africans - all these measures must be considered in the context of our revolution: it is only in this way that they can be correctly understood.

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#### reinforcement of the military sector

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Thus it is the development of the revolution which explains why the ordinary military budget of Portugal for 1967 has increased to £67,000,000 sterling, that is 30% more than in 1966. Out of this total, about £50,000,000 is earmarked for financing the struggle in the "Overseas Provinces"

The number of troops has also increased; there are today in Mozambique alone, more than 50,000 Portuguese soldiers, a number which has been confirmed by a Portuguese military commandant, in an interview given by him in 1965 (in 1964 there were 25,000 troops in Mozambique) To face the increasing need for military personnel the Portuguese Government published, this year, a decree law which 1) extended normal compulsory military service to three years, and in special cases (the present situation is precisely the kind considered "special") to 4 years; 2) set the age for call-up at 18; 3) created a "reserve corps" constituted by all able-bodied men under the age of 45; 4) established that those who are not fit for active service should be recruited to auxiliary services; 5) established direct participation by women in the armed forces.



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call for foreign troops

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Despite this, Portugal, whose population comprises about 9½ millions, has not enough men to satisfy her full military requirements: having sent more than 120,000 soldiers to fight in the colonies, Portugal herself now has a shortage at home. The fascist forces of repression in Portugal are weakened. In order to fill the gap, the Portuguese Government has requested the government of West Germany, her fascist ally, to establish on Portuguese territory a military base which would be used to repress any attempt at revolt on the part of the Portuguese people. This military base (air-force) has already been built at BEJA and more than 1,500 soldiers have been installed in it. Another West German military base is going to be established at SETUBAL.

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call for foreign money and weapons

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But war is not waged with men alone, but also with money and with armaments. Portugal, being a poor under developed country does not have enough goods or finance to maintain an armed struggle on three fronts simultaneously. She must, then, have recourse to foreign capital and armaments. The main sources of supply to Portugal, both for arms and money are her NATO allies. On the pretext of "Defending Western Values" these countries channel into Portugal vast sums of money and modern armaments, which Portugal uses for the repression of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guine. The arms bear the inscription "For Mutual Aid". Portugal erases this inscription and sends the bombers to be used in her colonies. This aid is accomplished at government level, although through the auspices of NATO. But there is another type of aid given at the level of organisations, companies and individuals. For example, in October 1966 the CIA supplied Portugal with 7 B26 bombers. The agreement between the CIA and the Portuguese government provided for the supply of 20 planes.

In the field of investment, the London correspondent of the South African paper "Star" on December 10th 1966 disclosed that American, Japanese, West German, English, South African and Rhodesian interests were going to invest over 8,000,000,000, escudos in Mozambique - in various sectors of the economy, particularly in the building of the CARORA-BASSA dam on the Zambezi, in setting up a pipeline between Mozambique and South Africa, and in prospecting for gold, diamonds and uranium. The purpose of this investment is to boost the economy of Mozambique and prevent it from collapsing, as would inevitably happen (if it were not for these investments) with the development of the struggle for national liberation.

The tactic used by the Portuguese Government to attract this foreign capital is to provide the most advantageous material conditions for the investors on such terms that the risk involved in the evolution of the nationalist movement is compensated for by the prospect of substantial immediate profits. In fact the advantages which the foreign investors enjoy in these colonies are enormous - they are exempt from many taxes, they have special facilities for recruiting labour, they can export to their own countries almost all profits. There are also long term investors. These are those countries which (apparently) are not afraid of the evolution of the revolution. Their confidence derives, in some cases from the fact that they are in a position to "defend" their investments - in other words, to participate themselves directly in the struggle against the nationalists, when the situation becomes difficult for Portugal, and their investments run the risk of being lost. The most typical case is that of South Africa, who has assumed the responsibility of investing 343 million dollars in financing the CARORA BASSA dam. Investors from other countries, for instance England, France and the United States, have been successfully duped by Portuguese propaganda, which claims that the Portuguese army has the war well under control, and that the revolutionary movement will never be able to reach the Southern provinces. This is how, with foreign capital, Portugal is able to delay, for a little longer her economic collapse.

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the catholic church, an old ally

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The Catholic Church is also among the forces which support the Portuguese government. The Catholic Church has always been Portugal's ally, and has always had an interest in the exploitation of the colonial territories. As an old African saying puts it: "When the missionaries arrived here, they had the bible and we had the land; now they have the land and we have the bible" The Church does not conceal its support for the colonial policies of Portugal. One of the most recent events, to prove this, was the visit the Pope made to Portugal in May, this year, bringing a gift of 150,000 dollars to the Portuguese Government "For Overseas use". The Pope also nominated the Cardinal of Lisbon to the office of BISHOP OF THE PORTUGUESE ARMED FORCES. The cardinal received the rank of BRIGADIER.

Even more recently, on the 28th of August 1967 the Under-secretary for Overseas Administration stated in Lisbon that "When the State entrusts the catholic missions with a share in the work of education, the State is certain that the missions will work for the common good, in the task entrusted to them. And when the Church accepts this task, the Church is equally certain that the State has taken the best path for defending the interests it is its duty to defend. From this we can conclude that, in the auspicious work which, for centuries, they have been accomplishing in Africa, the activities of Church and State will continue in perfect harmony, led by the same ideals.

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world condemnation

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In the field of diplomatic relations the situation is the following: Portugal is condemned by the world but in practice she still gets support. The condemnation is simply a matter of words, rhetoric - uttered only at the level of International assemblies. Thus in December 1966 the U.N. General Assembly condemned Portugal's colonial policy and her refusal to carry out the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security

Council; it condemned the policy of the Portuguese Government which violates the economic and political rights of the African population by the large scale settlement on the land of foreign immigrants and the exportation of workers to South Africa; it requested all states to prevent such activities of their nationals in the foreign financial interests which are an impediment to the attainment by the people of their legitimate rights of freedom and independence; it urged member states to take the following measures, separately or collectively: a) break off diplomatic relations with the Government of Portugal or refrain from establishing such relations, b) Close their ports to all vessels flying the Portuguese flag or in the service of Portugal, c) Prohibit their ships from entering any ports in Portugal and its colonial territories, d) Refuse landing and transit facilities to all aircraft belonging to or in the service of the Government of Portugal and companies registered under the laws of Portugal, e) Boycott all trade with Portugal; it requested all States and in particular the military allies of Portugal within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, to take the following steps: a) to refrain forthwith from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the African people of the Territories under its administration; b) to take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale or supply of arms and military equipment to the Government of Portugal; c) To stop the sale or shipment to the Government of Portugal of equipment and materials for the manufacture or maintenance of arms and ammunition. This resolution also reaffirms the rights of the people of the African territories under Portuguese administration to freedom and independence, and recognises the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve these rights. But no great importance can be attached to this resolution. It was approved by 66 votes in favour, 26 against and 15 abstentions. Those countries which voted against or abstained have been able to guarantee Portugal the help she needs to take the lead in her colonial war; among these are the great powers - the United States, England and France.

The only importance of this resolution was that it showed that the great majority of countries in the world recognised the legitimacy of our struggle for liberation. These are all the socialist countries. most of the countries of Asia, Cuba, and

almost all the African countries. In fact, not all the African countries support our liberation struggle. The Portuguese government has carried on an intense campaign among those African countries which border on Mozambique, in order to make them oppose the Mozambican nationalist movement, whether by promising them economic advantages or by threatening them with economic and military sanctions. Some African countries, led by fear or by the prospect of material gains have agreed to collaborate with the Portuguese to a point of joining in the repression of the nationalists.

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#### repression and propaganda

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In Mozambique the campaign of repression and propaganda has increased. This increase is gradual and is linked with the evolution of the liberation struggle. The chief preoccupation of the Portuguese is to get the people to stop supporting the guerrillas. To do this they try to intimidate the population with mass imprisonments, air-raids and massacres. Or they try to "persuade" the people through pamphlets and the radio that the revolutionary way of life is a hell and that life under Portuguese domination is a kind of paradise where there is nothing wrong and everyone is happy.

At the same time, and still with the same intent of separating the population from the guerrillas, the Portuguese have created what they call "protected villages" which correspond to the resettlement centres set up by the French in Algeria, and the "strategic hamlets" formed by the Americans in South Vietnam. These "protected villages" are set up around administrative and military centres. The Portuguese troops have precise instructions: to take the people from their villages to the protected villages and to kill those who refuse to go. This policy has failed because - on the one hand the living conditions are such that the people cannot bear them, which increases even more their hate for the Portuguese colonialists; on the other hand our military forces have been able, in many cases, to take the people away from the villages threatened by Portuguese action. There have also been cases in which the population of these strategic hamlets have risen up and begun to fight the Portuguese soldiers who "guard"

them, as happened at MUEDA on the 25th of March this year.

Usually the first method tried is "persuasion". When this fails (and it always does fail) they resort to massacres and "protected villages". But this provokes among the people a different reaction from the one the Portuguese expect: the people pledge themselves more firmly to revolt and the liberation struggle becomes more intense. And in the third stage the Portuguese are forced to withdraw from that zone. As a last resort they have brought into use a new system: they organise a Mozambican puppet leader who will do the work for them, they create a party called "nationalist" with that Mozambican as "president" and entrust to him the task of "mobilising" the people. They are doing this in Tete Province: a puppet leader organised public meetings where he appeared surrounded by Portuguese officials and soldiers and advised the people not to fight, saying "The Portuguese are good people, they are going to give us independence. Do you want proof? I am here speaking against them saying that I want independence and they don't do me any harm. They will give independence to us, but not to those FRELIMO bandits." At first this technique succeeded in confusing some of the people: but now, after explanations from our militants no one goes to those meetings.

Repression is used against anyone and everyone suspected of having connections with FRELIMO. Last year a great deal of publicity was given to the imprisonment of a group of Mozambican intellectuals suspected of belonging to FRELIMO. Among them were poets, journalists, civil servants, teachers, a painter and a lawyer. The publicity given to this case could lead one to believe that all nationalists arrested are submitted to a trial by a court of law. This is not what happens: the publicity given to the trial of these nationalists, among whom are Luis Bernardo Gwama, Rui Nogar, Malangatana Valente and Jose Craveirinha, was a ploy used by the Portuguese to insinuate this idea into the minds of the public, to give repression an appearance of legality. Every day dozens of Mozambican patriots are arrested, tortured and killed in complete secrecy in the underground prisons of PIDE.

Even that attempt at "legality" failed. In fact two different verdicts were brought in the one case. In the first trial, in March 1966, four of these nationalists were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from one to five years, plus "security measures" which means that the sentence can be prolonged indefinitely "as long as the criminal is considered dangerous." In this trial the

other nine nationalists were acquitted for lack of evidence.

Dissatisfied with this judgement, delivered by its own fascist tribunal, the Portuguese Government decided to set up another, military tribunal to try the same people who had been acquitted. The government selected the most obedient members of the army to act as judges and gave them precise instructions about the verdict they were to reach and the sentences they should give. This new tribunal did carry out the orders it had received from the government, and in the second trial the nine Mozambicans who had previously been acquitted were then sentenced to penalties of up to three years imprisonment, which could be extended under the "security regulations". Those who had already been convicted had their sentences lengthened. The Portuguese authorities refused to allow a delegation of an international jurists association to attend the trial. This prohibition was also extended to foreign journalists.

Attempts to consolidate the political and military machine; intensification of repression and exploitation; extension of the anti-nationalist propaganda campaign; the sale to foreign concerns of those resources which they are unable to exploit themselves: in general terms these are the present policies of the Portuguese Government for opposing the nationalist movement. This nationalist movement has already resulted in the liberation of large areas of Mozambique. Although the guerrilla forces are numerically inferior to those of the Portuguese and their equipment far more rudimentary, they have achieved important victories.

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#### morale among the portuguese

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This is due chiefly to the high morale of the liberation forces and to increasing demoralisation among the Portuguese soldiers. In fact, with the unpopularity of the colonial war in Portugal and the increasing need for troops in the colonies, the Portuguese Government has to use tricks to recruit its soldiers, deceiving their own Portuguese citizens. They persuade many Portuguese young men to go to Mozambique, promising them highly paid employment. Given the poverty in Portugal it isn't

hard to get "workers". When these civilians arrive in Mozambique they are drafted to the armed forces, given a summary training and sent North to fight, with no idea what they are fighting for. Most of these soldiers only fight because, finding themselves on a battlefield, they have no alternative but to fight in order to defend their own lives. But in every way they can, they avoid taking any military initiative. A Portuguese soldier who deserted in October 1966, Jose Inacio Bispo Catarino, stated "Our officials never tell us anything about the war. I never knew directly that we were fighting FRELIMO troops. I was aware of what FRELIMO was because I used to listen secretly to Radio Moscow. I knew that FRELIMO guerrillas had killed many Portuguese troops, and I knew it was true because I could see many of my colleagues being killed."

The fact that the Mozambican people's war of liberation is a just war and that the colonialists' war is immoral and unjust, also contributes to this demoralisation. This happens as soon as the Portuguese soldiers come to understand the nature of the war and the reasons for it. This soldier, for example, stated: "I deserted because we, the Portuguese, took by force the land which belongs to the Africans. Now the owners want their land. Why should we fight against them? I cannot fight on the side of the Portuguese, because I know that what they are doing is wrong. I saw many of my companions being killed, my sergeant died in front of me, and many others; all of them died for a cause which is not theirs. I often spoke to my soldiers, telling them that they should pretend to be sick to be evacuated to Nampula. I organised meetings with some of the ones I trusted, and explained to them that we were suffering for a cause which was not ours. I gave them the example of our sergeant, who died for nothing. We met anywhere, when we were sure of not being heard - even in bathrooms."

The only thing that still keeps the Portuguese soldiers together is the sense of relative safety that their superior equipment gives them - especially aircraft, helicopters and military vehicles.



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the people of Mozambique can consider themselves free

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The morale of the freedom fighters, on the other hand, is extremely high. They know what they are fighting for. The will to bring oppression to a rapid end, gives them excellent fighting spirit. This fighting spirit is a sure guarantee of victory for the Mozambican people in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

As the President of FRELIMO said, at a meeting of provincial political leaders "Since the revolutionary armed struggle began in Mozambique, the Mozambican people have been able to consider themselves free."

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# FRELIMO



A FRELIMO  
TIYENI TIAPITIKITSE APWITIKIZI  
NDZIKO LATHU LA MOÇAMBIKI

## MILITARY REPORT

From the 25th of September 1966 to the 6th of August this year over 2,000 Portuguese soldiers have been liquidated, more than 350 have been wounded or put out of action, more than 120 military vehicles have been destroyed or damaged, innumerable arms and ammunition of Western manufacture have been captured by our guerrillas, 6 aircraft have been shot down by our forces, 5 of these during 2 attacks on the Mueda air-base. At the same time, progress in the struggle has enabled us to install training camps near our bases in the interior of Mozambique. In this way we are able to increase considerably the numbers of our fighters which, from the 250 that there were in 1964 have now grown to more than 8,000 armed men. Aside from the above number of guerrillas we have established a system of armed militiamen whose main duty is to provide security for the semi-liberated populations and their property against sneak attacks by the Portuguese armed commandos. Our women also participate in armed action, in trained groups of their own, controlled by the same military high command of the Mozambique Liberation Front. In this way we intend to engage the whole population of Mozambique in the armed struggle, regardless of age and sex.

In the course of this third year of armed struggle our fighters, now much stronger in numbers and armaments, no longer limit themselves to preparing ambushes for enemy convoys or patrols: in the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, they now attack the Portuguese fortified posts themselves. Several dozen Portuguese bases have been attacked in this way and destroyed or abandoned by the colonial army.

Portuguese occupation is being eliminated from ever wider regions. Confined to those military posts which still remain to them, the only field of action open to the Portuguese, whether for communications and supplies or for repression, is the air. The Portuguese have resorted to savage air-raids, following on pamphlet raids, in order to intimidate the population and force them to stop supporting the guerrillas. But there also their activities have met with complete failure: because the people have learnt to defend themselves and they give ever increasing assistance to the liberation forces.

We have achieved many of the goals we set ourselves last year, thus:

a) In the zone of Catur which lies in the Southern part of Lake Nyasa Province, adjoining Malawi. Here the Portuguese are fighting furiously, trying to defend the whole area against a possible breakthrough of our forces to the Zambezia Province, a very rich, strategic region which divides the North from the South. It will be recalled that it is in the Zambezia Province that the Portuguese Government has ambitious plans of settling one million white Portuguese in the next ten years. The armed struggle is very hard in this area especially because, while we have to attack the enemy constantly, we have to maintain our supplies with great difficulty. It is, therefore the zone with the most difficult vanguard and rearguard. In spite of this, the freedom fighters were able to maintain the pressure on the enemy while at the same time engaging in agricultural production on a large scale. They have been able to produce this year sufficient maize for one full year.

b) Zone of Marrupa / Maua, Eastern Nyasa Province, sharing borders with the Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Mozambique. Because of the flat and open nature of the landscape the enemy maintains an intensive air bombardment of our positions. But our forces have not slackened their attacks on the enemy, inspite of these air-raids. Production was less than in Catur, although considerable.

c) Zone of Tete, adjoining southern Malawi, eastern Zambia and northern Zimbabwe. As is well known, FRELIMO guerrillas were active during the first six months of the armed struggle, but were forced to withdraw their forces due to the difficulties encountered in supplying them. In spite of this we were able to expand our political activities in the zone. In this zone the African population is as eager as in other areas of Mozambique, and ready to join, support and maintain the armed struggle. The only difficulty is material.

d) Semi-liberated zones. It is now widely known that we have vast areas of Northern Mozambique virtually under the people's control, where the Portuguese armed forces move only with great difficulty. These areas we consider as "semi-liberated", in that, while the enemy continues to maintain some isolated garrisons which from

time to time make furtive sorties against the civilian population and occasionally attack some of our bases, mostly by air, they cannot maintain normal relations with the masses of the African population. In these areas the African population depends for practically everything on FRELIMO. It is these areas where the bulk of our military supplies are kept, where the training of new recruits is carried out and a skeleton system of public administration for the civilian population is being established. The semi-liberated zones are the back-bone of the whole armed effort in Mozambique. It is from here that we exert more and more pressure upon the enemy, as we thrust forward towards the southern portion of the country which is not yet under fire.

In the following section we shall give some data about the evolution of the military situation during the various months from September 1966 to August 2nd 1967, together with a description of the present situation.

#### OCTOBER 1966

On the 10th of October 1966 FRELIMO guerrillas attacked with mortars the administrative centre of Mueda. On the 11th the airfield of Mueda was also bombed with mortar shells. On the 12th a Portuguese soldier, corporal No. 2178/64 deserted from the military garrison of Mueda and surrendered to our forces. He was taken to the border and given facilities to leave for the country of his choice. This soldier brought with him his machine gun of Belgian manufacture, cal. 7,62 No. 1943.

#### NOVEMBER, DECEMBER

The rainy season is beginning in Mozambique and FRELIMO guerrillas are preparing new plans of attack. During the past months the Portuguese tried to take advantage of the dry season as they had already done in 1964 and 1965. They burnt wide tracts of land, thus aiming to avoid ambushes and to deprive the guerrillas of their usual hide-out in the vegetation.

However, as in 1964 and 1965 the support given by the people to our guerrillas frustrated the plans of the Portuguese. The people hide the guerrillas, give them food and information on the movements of the enemy.

This year, the third year of armed struggle, the Portuguese became aware of the fact that they will never be able to conquer

us as long as we have the support of the people. Consequently, since October they launched an intensive campaign aimed at isolating the guerrillas from the people by threatening the population with massacres if they collaborated with FRELIMO; they seduce them with promises of "better life" if they follow the Portuguese authorities. This became one of the main preoccupations of the Portuguese, to the extent that today they often avoid combats, preferring to distribute pamphlets to the people. This happened, for example, in Micapalo, Niassa Province, on the 11th of November: strong Portuguese patrols met our troops but refused to fight, deviated and went to a zone where the people pass, leaving there a large number of pamphlets. In these pamphlets the Portuguese say that "the white people and the black people are brothers, but FRELIMO wants to destroy that brotherhood" and that "the Makonde tribe is an enemy of the Macua tribe and therefore the Macua tribe must join the Portuguese to fight the Makondes". Our people, however, know the Portuguese propaganda. They come to us and show us the pamphlets, they themselves denounce the divisionist manoeuvres of the enemy and reaffirm their dedication to the struggle for national liberation.

#### DECEMBER 28th

Reinforcements are constantly being sent to Niassa and to Cabo Delgado Provinces, from the other provinces of Mozambique. This allows the Portuguese to concentrate a large number of troops; they never send a group of less than 100 on patrol. However our forces are also growing. It is precisely because of our strength that the Portuguese are forced to send reinforcements. But the more troops the enemy sends, the more losses he suffers.

#### JANUARY 10th 1967

In the course of the past weeks more than 14 Mozambican African soldiers who were in the Portuguese army deserted and joined FRELIMO forces in Cabo Delgado province. They related untold sufferings of the population in the "strategic hamlets" who do not get any food from the Portuguese (food is for the Portuguese soldiers - and even for these it is not enough) In these "strategic hamlets" people are badly mistreated by the colonialist soldiers who consider all black people responsible for their defeats and sufferings.

The Mozambican deserters revealed also that the African soldiers in the colonialist army, who die during combat, are not buried: the Portuguese take their weapons and strip their clothes off, abandoning the dead bodies. Those African soldiers who were seriously wounded were also left abandoned on the spot. Moreover, there were many cases of African soldiers who were killed by Portuguese soldiers "by accident" due to "casual" shooting with the handle of a weapon by Portuguese soldiers. It is hatred against all Africans by the Portuguese colonialists, whether the Africans are on their side or not, which explains these crimes. Because in the Portuguese colonialist mentality "a blackman is less than a dog."

#### JANUARY 10th

In Niassa province, the Portuguese still control the coastal zones of Lake Niassa (because of their naval force) and have military garrisons stationed in the posts of Catur, Macalogue, Nova Olivenca Metangula, Cobue, Vila Cabral and Nova Freixo. The rest of the province is under the control of FRELIMO.

Regarding the Portuguese posts the population which used to be in the neighbourhood moved into the bush, leaving the soldiers at the posts completely isolated. Moreover our acts of sabotage and ambushes prevent regular supplies from reaching the garrisons. This means hunger for the Portuguese soldiers - there are certain periods during which combats are only fought in the people's shambas where the Portuguese soldiers go to steal food. On the 15th of December 1966 the Portuguese armed forces issued a communique in Laurencio Marques. That communique was aimed at "correcting" the last FRELIMO communique on the military operations in Niassa province by saying that the number of Portuguese soldiers who were killed was not 100, as FRELIMO stated but "only 16".

The number of losses that the Portuguese are forced to admit is therefore growing. It confirms the development of our struggle.

#### DECEMBER-JANUARY

The operations of FRELIMO guerrillas in the Western region of Niassa province, and in particular, the Catur zone are continuous and intense. The enemy tries desperately to penetrate the zones controlled by the guerrillas. The results of those attempts

were that in the period from 31st December to the 24th January, 1967, at least 220 Portuguese soldiers, including 1 colonel were killed. More than 100 were injured; 13 lorries, 3 tractors and 1 locomotive were destroyed. One important base and three Portuguese camps were attacked and destroyed and many streets and bridges were sabotaged. Moreover, our actions disorganised the enemy forces to a point that, on the 20th of January 1967, with their own aviation they bombed a company of Portuguese soldiers and one "strategic hamlet". On our side we had 5 casualties: 3 fighters killed and one wounded.

#### JANUARY - FEBRUARY

During the months of January and February 1967, the actions of the Portuguese troops in Cabo Delgado Province were characterised by attempts to steal and destroy the plantations and to disorganise the production activities undertaken by the people in that region.

Failing to enter the zones under our control, the enemy tries to use aircraft to bomb the population and their cultivated fields. FRELIMO guerrillas, with the full support of the people's militias continue to obstruct Portuguese action and to keep their troops confined to their military posts. The losses of the Portuguese forces were enormous: within the period dating from the 1st to the 26th of February alone we registered more than 300 Portuguese soldiers killed and more than 100 wounded, 10 lorries destroyed and one aircraft shot down. The aircraft was a HARVARD t6-G, series No. 52-8240N, registration No. 1696. Equipment was also captured from the plane which consisted of 4 machine guns, transmission equipment, 2 parachutes and 826 rounds of ammunition. In the course of other combats various sub machine guns and ammunition of West German manufacture, were captured.

#### FEBRUARY - NIASSA

FRELIMO's programme for 1967 is being duly executed. In the military field that programme has envisaged the intensification of attacks and ambushes against the Portuguese forces aimed at widening the liberated areas.

This is, in fact, happening. In Niassa province guerrilla operations take place almost daily, extending as far as Mecanhelas, in the extreme South of the province. The enemy is constantly



suffering defeats, ignorant of the terrain, demoralised, not familiar with the bush, surrounded by a hostile population which reveals to the guerrillas any move that the enemy makes.

#### FEBRUARY - MARCH

The Portuguese colonialists have increased their forces in Niassa Province. Recently a new contingent arrived in the Eastern zone of that province. The soldiers of that contingent call themselves "THE CATS", better known as "THE MEN WITH THE BLACK SCARVES". Their action is mainly directed at the people: they have committed the most barbarous crimes against the civilian population. They tie up all the Mozambicans they find harvesting in the villages - men women and children indiscriminately, - and kill them with knives one by one, like butchers. At the same time, following a general psychological campaign they spread pamphlets in which they say that "The Portuguese soldiers do not kill for pleasure, but for necessity"

FRELIMO forces are also growing and are able to counter the enemy forces successfully. It is true that some of the people surrendered themselves to the enemy, led by fear and terrified by the brutalities they had witnessed. However the great majority of the population continue to be loyal to FRELIMO and the REVOLUTION.

#### APRIL

Two members of FRELIMO central committee, Comrades Lezaro Kavandame, Provincial chairman of Cabo Delgado and Jorge Rebelo, Secretary for Information and Propaganda, have returned from the interior of Mozambique, where they had gone on a party mission. For about one month, mid February to mid March, they toured Cabo Delgado Province, organising public meetings in the regions where they passed, studying the main problems brought by the struggle and by the tasks of national reconstruction.

Our revolution is growing. The Portuguese have already lost all the initiative: each time they try to move, our guerrilla forces intercept them, mining the roads or ambushing them. The people live in peace and freedom and their only fear is eventual air-raids, but they already have good shelters at their disposal.

There are immense cultivated fields in the liberated areas; there is no hunger in free Mozambique. The morale of the people

and the guerrillas is extremely high - the certainty of victory animates all the fighter.

In 6 operations during February and March FRELIMO fighters killed 52 enemy soldiers and wounded many others. These operations have a double aim: on the one hand, to annihilate the enemy forces; on the other hand to call to the struggle the still ignorant or hesitant members of the population found in the strategic hamlets.

#### MAY

In the Eastern military region of Niassa Province FRELIMO forces are intensifying their campaign of ambushes and attacks, checking all movements of enemy troops, who are now virtually immobilised in their military bases. Most of the bases in this region have to be supplied by air.

On the other hand the enemy has intensified its aerial bombardments, and is trying to create conditions which would give him some minimal initiative in the campaign: one of the measures they are taking for this purpose is to abandon the sabotaged roads and build new ones, using labour from the strategic hamlets (for example the roads of MTELELA, ANTONIO-MAUA and MSANGULA) All these attempts are frustrated by FRELIMO forces. In the case of the air-raids, although they have caused losses among the population and killed some guerrillas, they have not in any way prevented our forces from carrying on a vigorous offensive campaign.

#### THE PORTUGUESE AIR-RAIDS

Now that the constant ambushes and attacks of FRELIMO have paralysed them on land, the Portuguese have been forced to increase their air attacks. Thus on the 18th of May, Portuguese aircraft bombed the village of MANGOLOWE, dropping 10 bombs. Next day they bombed NCALAPA, NAICULA and NTENGA. On the 20th of May 4 aircraft bombed the zone of MATACA, continuing these attacks for four days, and dropping 40 bombs. On the 21st they continued, concentrated on the zone between MANGOLOWE and MARRUPA.

#### JUNE - JULY

Guerrilla action continues steadily. Between June the 14th and July 1st, in Cabo Delgado Province alone, 84 Portuguese soldiers were killed and 8 military vehicles were destroyed in ambushes organised by FRELIMO guerrillas.

#### JULY

In the Eastern military region of Niassa Province the activities of our forces include direct attacks on Portuguese military bases and installations. Between the 7th and the 23rd of July, FRELIMO guerrillas attacked one Portuguese camp and one military post and completely destroyed a bridge built by the Portuguese to facilitate troop movements. In these and other actions, considerably more than 44 Portuguese soldiers were killed, one military vehicle was destroyed and another damaged.

#### JULY - AUGUST

Three aircraft and a store of ammunition completely destroyed, the fuel deposit burnt, nearly all houses near the air field ruined, dozens of Portuguese soldiers killed or wounded: this happened in Mueda in a mortar attack launched by FRELIMO forces on August 2nd. The fire raged for two days.

This was only one of a series of attacks organised in Cabo Delgado Province between July 12th and August 6th. In 8 other operations more than 100 Portuguese soldiers were put out of action and 4 military vehicles were destroyed.

The intensity of the campaign in this province is such that the Portuguese themselves are forced to admit some of their losses in their own news bulletins. For instance, although their information services later denied that the Mueda air-base had been successfully attacked, on August 3rd the Portuguese radio from Nampula confirmed that 3 aircraft had been destroyed as well as the fuel deposit and store house, which they specified, had contained mines, canon shells, mortar shells, grenades, explosives and ammunition for light arms. The Portuguese now frequently have to issue communiques such as the ones of August 19th and 21st in which they announced 12 Portuguese soldiers dead, killed in the fighting in Mozambique.

During the period from the 25th of September 1966 to the 6th of August 1967 our forces have:

Killed more than 2,320 enemy soldiers, wounded and put out of action more than 351,

Destroyed or damaged 120 enemy military vehicles and one railway engine and 3 tractors.

Destroyed 6 aircraft, of which two were reconnaissance planes and one a Harvard T6-G serial No. 52-8240N, registration No. 1696.

Captured from the enemy arms and ammunition among which were:

- Belgian heavy machine guns
- rifles and hand grenades
- 5 heavy machine guns and ammunition.
- radio equipment
- 2 parachutes
- oil drums
- clothing.

and attacked the following enemy posts and camps:

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|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| - administrative post of N'GAPA  | - October 5th 1966 |
| - administrative centre of Mueda | - October 10th     |
| - Mueda airfield                 | - October 11th     |
| - NANYUNDO camp                  | - October 8th      |
| - NANGULULU camp                 | - October 14th     |
| - VILA CABRAL, SANJALA zone      | - October 14th     |

- MBANDEZE camp	- October 18th
- Sagal military post	- November 20th
- a camp in the region of Darumba	- November 21st
- the camp at Nova Coimbra	- November 27th
- the post at Pundanhar	- December 24th
- Messangulo Base	- December 31st
- A camp near Chissanguezi	- December 13th
- a camp between LUGENDA and NOVA	- February 9th 1967.
- CONGERENJI camp	- February 20th
- MALAPISIA military post	- February 25th
- SERRACAO camp	- March 1st
- MBANDEZI camp	- March 21st
- NANGOLOLO military post	- March 22nd
- The Anglican mission at Messumba	- April 11th
- A boat on Lake Niassa	- April 12th
- ASSUMANE camp	- April 26th
- NANTOMBA camp	- April 26th
- a camp in Western Niassa	- May 19th
- CALAMANDA camp	- May 20th
- LITUNDE military post	- May 26th
- Ncualu camp	

- MARERE military post
  - ASSUSE camp
  - a camp between Mpomola and Muhela
  - ANTONIO (REVIA) military post
  - MUEDA air base
- June 7th
  - June 10th
  - July 13th
  - July 22nd and 23rd.
  - August 2nd

## NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

During the last three years of armed struggle we have learned a number of lessons, one of which is that the liberation of our country will not have to wait to be consummated until the very end, when enemy forces are finally pushed out of our soil; the liberation is taking place now, step by step, as we clear an area of Portuguese soldiers and our people are free to work with us openly in every phase of our programme. Thus, in two northern provinces of Nyasa and Cabo Delgado, where most of the people who live in liberated zones are found, we have had to establish various programmes and services aimed at recreating normal life.

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### a) agriculture

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Amongst the programmes which have enjoyed most success is agriculture, carried out through a combination of individual and cooperative action. In order to facilitate this most useful economic activity the Mozambique Liberation Front has decreed that all the military training camps in Mozambique shall include farming as part of the basic preparation of every new recruit, and every FRELIMO military group must include cultivation of the land amongst its normal activities as it engages the enemy, thus giving a positive example to the masses.

At the beginning of the armed struggle in September 1964, the Mozambican people inhabiting those areas which were to be affected by the armed action decided to establish alternative village settlements in order to prevent the Portuguese armed forces from destroying their property. This was one of several defensive measures which our people are forced to adopt as precautions against Portuguese excesses in air bombardments of which we already had a shocking experience in connection with the war in Angola.

In abandoning their traditional places of habitation our people took with them foodstuffs, household utensils and livestock so that they might survive the very difficult conditions of life lying ahead.

On settling the forests, mountainsides and river valleys, the people began to cultivate the land, planting as much as they could, under the guidance and protection of the freedom fighters. Already at the end of the first year of war in those provinces affected, the people were able to produce several times more bushels of rice, maize, beans and other agricultural products.

Now in Cabo Delgado the people are sufficiently free to remodel their economic life in accordance with their needs and wishes. To achieve this it was necessary first to organise the people politically, then a programme of military action had to be instituted, in view of the Portuguese Government's refusal to discuss the people's demand for freedom. The success of both these campaigns have made it possible to bring about many reforms in agriculture.

We have established or revived the old agricultural producers' cooperatives which the Portuguese had deliberately discouraged or destroyed. The Portuguese had also forced the people of Cabo Delgado to produce only those cash crops which were of immediate value to Portuguese European industries, such as cotton and sisal. On doing so, the cultivation of subsistence crops had to be sacrificed, with the result that the people suffered frequent periods of famine. We have put an end to this system: the people now plant those crops which are of direct use to them.

As a result the people of Cabo Delgado cultivate more land than ever before; during the year ending 1966, and are producing more cereals, beans, oil seeds and small livestock than they ever had under the Portuguese. This increased production has been achieved despite air-raids and constant harassment by Portuguese bandits sent by the colonial administration. The districts of Mocimboa do Ruvuma, Mocomia, Nangade, Sagal, Muidumbe, Miteda, Mutamba Dos Macondes, Chia and Gegumano, are showing particularly favourable results.

In order to encourage agricultural activity in this province we have done more than simply destroy the Portuguese system and organise cooperatives. We had to redistribute as much of the arable land as was possible, to the people who were eager to increase their



cultivated acreage, including those areas which the Portuguese colonialists had set aside for the exclusive cultivation of cotton and sisal. Also it was necessary for FRELIMO to help the people in acquiring simple tools of work which they cannot now buy in Mozambique because Portuguese and Asian traders are not allowed to move about without the constant presence of the Portuguese army. This means that FRELIMO had to buy thousands of hoes, hatchets and pangas and distribute them amongst the farming population. In 1966 we bought and distributed in the province of Cabo Delgado alone the following farm equipment:

Hoes - 5,000 pieces  
~~Hatchets~~ - 5,000 pieces  
Pangas - 5,000 pieces

This equipment contributed greatly towards the increased acreage of the cultivated land in Cabo Delgado Province.

The crops most common in Cabo Delgado are sorghum, rice, cassava, millet, maize, various kinds of beans, cotton, sisal, cashew nuts, palm oil, tobacco, coffee, groundnuts, etc. In this same region there are many kinds of hardwood which under normal peaceful conditions can be converted into commercial timber for internal use and export.

In Niassa Province the liberation struggle is as well developed as it is in the Cabo Delgado Province. In Niassa the population density is much lower than in Cabo Delgado, due to the fact that the region is large and that a higher proportion of the population has had to flee to Tanzania and Malawi in the last two years due to the ruthless manner in which the enemy ~~bombarded~~ and napalm-bombed their crops. Otherwise the situation in Niassa is very similar to that in Cabo Delgado. Niassa enjoys the same advantages of soil and climate, practically the same kind of crops are produced ~~as~~ in Cabo Delgado, and since the armed struggle liberated this area, similar programmes have been set up to encourage agricultural production. Despite the ferocious Portuguese air-raids the people have intensified their agricultural activities and now here too, they produce more than they had under the Portuguese.

Here ~~too~~ our programme included the importing of agricultural

implements. In 1966 we imported the following equipment:

Hoes - 4,800 pieces  
Hatchets - 4,000 pieces  
Pangas - 4,000 pieces.

In the whole areas of both provinces, Cabo Delgado and Niassa progress has been such that ~~during the year 1966 we were able to export the following items:~~

Cashew nuts	500 tons
Sesame seed	100 tons
Groundnuts	100 tons
Castor oil seed	10 tons

It is hoped that during the current year we will be able to export more of the same produce, plus cereals such as maize, rice sorghum, millet, and leguminous grains such as beans.

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#### b) commerce

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As soon as the armed struggle begins in any area commercial activities are reduced to ~~the~~very minimum. The Portuguese colonial army cannot tolerate the possibility of any commercial activities taking place between freedom fighters and any Portuguese or Asian traders. Consequently whenever the armed struggle starts in any province or district in Mozambique the Portuguese authorities order the closure of commercial establishments except for those which directly serve the ~~Portuguese~~ army.

Since our people must continue to live as much of a normal life as possible, despite the war, we have had to establish our own shops in as many districts as possible. Using the proceeds from the export of agricultural surplus we import essentials, including salt, oils, textiles and some household equipment, which are then sold, through our shops, to the local population. In the liberated areas now there are 47 traveling traders organised by FRELIMO to provide such basic commercial services.

Plans for future economic development in the liberated and semi-liberated areas include improving the people's cultivation techniques; intensifying commerce within and between the provinces; export of excess produce to those neighbouring African states which are willing to accept them; exploration for and exploitation of timber; improvement of technique for producing local textiles and woodcarvings.

The people of Mozambique are great workers of iron and silver. We are now studying means by which these traditional arts can be improved and expanded in such a way as to constitute a meaningful industrial activity capable of producing enough exportable goods to enable the people to earn convertible currency.

We have already started to prepare people who will be responsible for the organisation, encouragement and direction of hut industries using local iron, silver, copper and hard-wood for the production of simple household goods such as hoes, pangas, hatchets, bedsteads, needles and ornamental trinkets, all of which are now being locally produced, albeit without centralised organisation and guidance.

The section dealing with industrial development and production in FRELIMO has recently been studying the various kinds of rubber produced in Mozambique to see which kind could be encouraged for export. The same section has been experimenting with various techniques of apiculture in order to improve the production of honey which is a rich source of vitamins for the people in the liberated areas.

During the last two years we have been preoccupied with the need to acquire convertible foreign exchange. One of the best ways of doing this is by exporting the products of agriculture and domestic industry. Concerning this we are now in the process of re-organising the traditional artists who produce works of sculpture from carving black hardwood. The pieces of art they produce are well known all over the world. We hope to so organise the sale of these pieces of Makonde art to enable our people to profit directly from their labours.

We shall continue to build up a stronger economic base in all the districts which each year fall under our control and where the people are free to engage in productive work in agriculture, ~~commerce~~ and industry. The people of Mozambique are working harder now that they know that all the proceeds of their work will go to improving their lives and liberating more of their country.

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### c) medical services

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In the liberated areas the people are in great need of all kinds of social services, including medicine. Once the Portuguese army was forced to retreat from these areas, the official health services were withdrawn along with the administration, the schools, where there were any, and those missionary institutions which depended on the favours they enjoyed from the Portuguese colonialist government. Immediately after the beginning of the armed struggle in some of these areas the Portuguese administrative centres and the mission stations were turned into military garrisons for the Portuguese army, and where any medical services continued they were reserved for the treatment of wounded soldiers.

This situation forced the Mozambique Liberation Front to provide some alternative services for those Mozambicans who chose freedom and were lucky enough to find themselves in the midst of areas controlled by the liberation forces. We, therefore, had no alternative but to accept the responsibility of giving as much assistance as possible to all the people living in liberated and semi-liberated areas.

In order to make this possible we established a medical structure capable of planning, organising and directing such medical services as we could afford to maintain.

Inside Mozambique, FRELIMO established several health centres in each liberated area. These centres are of various kinds and different types of medical assistance are given to the sick members of the civilian population as well as to those who are from time to time wounded by the Portuguese terrorists. The medical centres vary from one district to another, depending on the kind of equipment that we are able to provide. There are, for example, medical clinics whose usefulness is limited to giving first-aid to those who are wounded or hurt in accidents, or to treating those with simple health problems. Those who cannot satisfactorily be treated in the first-aid centres are transferred, as soon as possible, to centres equipped with better medical facilities where they are given closer attention by more capable medical officers. In every liberated province, district and circle, there are several medical centres of one kind or another, staffed by different kinds

of medical officer ready to give the best medical assistance they are able to those who need it.

Just as important as these programmes of curative medicine are our campaigns of preventative medicine. We hope to be able to give ever increasing attention to this field, as our health services develop.

In the last two years in the liberated areas we vaccinated 100,000 people against smallpox, and we are now preparing a campaign to vaccinate the whole population of the liberated areas. This is a highly ambitious project, which has not been achieved even in some independent countries. However we have good reason to consider it practicable. The factor which, in most independent countries, acts against such programmes of mass vaccinations is the failure, owing to a lack of health education, to get full cooperation from the people. In our case the high level of organisation of our party will make it possible to inform the whole population about the campaign and to ensure their absolute cooperation. Thus we can believe that the success of this campaign will depend solely on our being able to obtain the vaccine.

Apart from the battle against smallpox we are concerned with other endemic diseases, in particular malaria, bilharzia, leprosy sleeping sickness, and trachoma. We have carried out some localised campaigns of inoculation against typhoid, tetanus and tuberculosis. We are planning an intense programme of antitetanus inoculation (very important in wartime) and an anti-typhoid campaign. We are developing a crash programme of health education for the civilian population. We consider this as the corner-stone of the battle against the main tropical diseases endemic in our country.

In spite of existing war conditions, we have recently started to collect health statistics. In one or two years these statistics will be available to assist our medical programmes.

However the lack of adequately trained medical staff, the scarcity of means of buying the minimum equipment necessary for even a modest clinic in the bush, plus the difficulties we constantly face in trying to find moderately priced drugs and medicines for supplying these centres limits even more our capacity to give the medical services, both curative and preventive, which must be rendered to the hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans living in liberated and semi-liberated areas.

We are now making some progress to alleviate the problem of the lack of medical staff. The colonial policy of preventing Africans from pursuing their studies beyond primary school meant that under Portuguese rule no Africans were able to qualify as doctors. We have now, however been able to send a number of Mozambicans to study medicine in various foreign universities, and in 1968 the first African Mozambican doctor will qualify.

It is also necessary to prepare para-medical cadres who will be able to deal with day to day medical problems. Some, trained under the Portuguese have left their colonial ties to join the liberation struggle. However we need many more and to prepare these we have started a course for rural medical aides at the Mozambique Institute, in Dar es Salaam. Two groups have now finished their course and gone back to work in Mozambique. A third group is being trained at present. There are plans to expand and diversify these courses and to include programmes on a higher level, but these depend to a large extent on the possibility of obtaining external aid and recruiting more teachers.

Apart from this programme at the Mozambique Institute we have prepared a large number of first-aid officers who can deal with simple problems and administer first aid to those who are wounded or injured. This programme is continuing and we are introducing to it various modifications and improvements.

A constant impediment to the progress of these medical programmes is the lack of young people who have adequate educational qualifications to be enrolled in the training courses. We have, however, an expanding educational programme which will gradually supply us with a flow of suitable recruits.

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#### d) education

When the Portuguese withdrew educational facilities in those areas affected by the armed struggle, from the point of view of the African population, there was little enough to withdraw; under Portuguese administration Africans are normally excluded altogether from secondary education; primary education is so scarce that no more than a 5% literacy rate had been achieved over the whole

country; there were no African graduates. What education was provided was heavily orientated towards supporting the colonial regime; it consisted mostly of Portuguese language, Portuguese history and religious instruction. Thus, in setting up educational services in the liberated zones FRELIMO has had to start from scratch, with little trained personnel, without textbooks and without a syllabus.

FRELIMO has set up the framework to organise educational services. Already in the liberated areas 100 schools have been started which provide primary education for about 10,000 children. The student-teacher ratio varies from 250:1 to 25:1 and there is a superintendent of schools in the district. Some textbooks have been written and more are in preparation. The education department of FRELIMO is in the process of working out a syllabus which will be relevant to the needs of the people and the liberation struggle. Owing to the lack of one predominate national language, the children still have to begin their schooling by learning Portuguese. However other subjects taught are: the history of the Mozambican people, geography of Mozambique, arithmetic, basic health and hygiene, and civics. Civics lessons explain the reasons and purpose of the national liberation struggle, so giving the student the basis of an understanding which will enable him to take a more active and advanced role in the struggle. There is also a programme of manual work designed to counter the general aversion to work caused by the Portuguese system of forced labour.

It is not only the children who are anxious to learn. When school is over, in many districts, the teacher still has a good part of his work in front of him, running an adult literacy class. However the organisation of adult education is still at an embryonic stage and data still has to be collected about numbers, aptitude and methods.

The lack of materials and staff is a major problem. FRELIMO is importing various school equipment to the bush schools but many of them have to make do with very rudimentary materials. The teachers themselves have often only received primary education and had no special instruction in teaching.

This last problem should gradually be alleviated by the work of the more advanced educational programmes run from Tanzania. Here there is an upper primary course which prepares children to go on to the secondary course at the Mozambique Institute.

The Mozambique Institute provides education for 150 boys and girls up to the 7th class, by the Portuguese system, and plans are now being made for the addition of the 8th and top class. The whole concept of education, as on the primary level, has changed. Work is constantly in progress on the syllabus and on the task of producing suitable textbooks. For students who complete this course successfully scholarships are arranged at various foreign universities, although each student is required to do some practical work for the liberation struggle before continuing their education. There are now 150 Mozambicans at university.

The other courses run in Tanzania have even closer reference to the needs of the people in liberated areas. The medical programmes have already been mentioned. There is also a course for local political leaders and administrators which has already graduated the first group, and a training course for primary-school teachers is about to be started.

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Much more development must take place in the liberated areas: all the other provinces of Mozambique have to be liberated and developed. But the foundations of the new Mozambique are being laid now. FRELIMO troops are fighting now, to weaken the hold of the Portuguese; FRELIMO local leaders, teachers and medical personnel are hard at work, now, to improve conditions of life for the people in liberated areas. Each year we can record some progress in every field. The work shall go on and we will continue to make progress until we have made of Mozambique a country where all the people are free from oppression and able to live full constructive lives.